2:Lewis E-5 (1943-1948) 1951 NU37 Tepoztlan NU37

As we have seen earlier, there were only fourteen cases of married siblings living together on a single house site. Married sisters go off and soon identify their interests with those of their husbands. Since a married woman is under the authority of her husband, she is no longer free to visit her brothers at will. And while brothers are more free to visit with their married siblings, there are often strained relations between the in-laws.

The most frequent causes for friction between adult siblings is favoritism of the parents for a brother or sister. Favoritism may be shown by preference for the children of the favored son or daughter, by more frequent visiting, by economic aid, and by leaving a larger share of the inheritance. In most cases which we studied, grandparents showed favoritism to the children of their daughters rather than to those of sons.

Quarrels between siblings over inheritance are frequent, and often lead to permanent rifts in the family. The difficulty of dividing up the property equally, the tendency to give more to sons than daughters, more to an older son, or again to a favorite, leads to quarrels.

The following case, which is typical of many, illustrates some of the points made about sibling relations.

Anastasio, age 54, has one elder brother and three sisters, all of whom are married and reside within short distances of one another. At present Anastasio is on good terms with them but there had been a rift in the family for several years, with Anastasio on one side and his brother and sisters on the other. Before the death of his mother, Anastasio visited his brother and sisters more often, he and his brother helped each other with harvesting and often drank together. When Anastasio had an important decision to make, he would seek the advice of his siblings. They also occasionally borrowed tools or corn from each other, and their wives would use the same sewing machine and went together to the market to sell. Anastasio was never as intimate with his two older sisters. Of them he said, "We behave respectfully toward them. We joke a little but not much." One of these sisters visits only on the day of the annual fiesta, on Anastasio's birthday, and when he is ill; the other sister visits even less because her husband is jealous and violent and beats her if she goes out unnecessarily. Anastasio feels closer to his younger sister because he supported her after the death of their father. Anastasio passes her house almost every day when he goes for water, and he always greets her. There is mutual visiting between the two families when there is illness, and they help each other in little ways. Anastasio hires this sister's sons to work for him when he needs peons. However, this sister rarely visits Anastasio because her husband is retiring and unsociable.

After the death of their widowed mother, these brothers and sisters quarreled over the inheritance. Some time before her death, the mother had sold Anastasio her house and *sitio* at a nominal price to keep him from moving to Yautepec. At her death he received nothing, but his brother and sisters each inherited sums of money. Anastasio believed he had been unjustly cut out of the will, and his brother and sisters were disgruntled because their share was less than the house and *sitio* were worth. As Anastasio became more prosperous, his brother and sisters became more envious and vindictive. Later another quarrel arose over a small wooded plot of mountain land which their mother had left for the use of all her children.

2:Lewis E-5 (1943-1948) 1951 NU37 Tepoztlan NU37

punished. Some parents try to assuage the children's resentment by placing fruit and candy under the infant's dress and saying that the baby brought gifts to his brothers and sisters. Affection shown by the grandmother, the father, and older brothers and sisters also serves to comfort younger children. Demonstrative affection from the mother is almost entirely absent after the new baby is born. In general, it is rare for a child over five to be held, hugged, or kissed, and by the time the child reaches ten this never occurs.

Temper tantrums, which rarely occur in the nursing child or even during weaning, are frequent in the next-to-the-youngest child, after the birth of a new sibling. These tantrums are distinctly associated with the coming of the other child and are attributed to jealousy. The child becomes irritable and hypersensitive, and any rebuff or show of indifference on the part of his elders is enough to cause a temper tantrum. The child throws himself to the ground in a rage, screaming and kicking and pulling his hair. Some children bang their heads on the ground, tear at their clothing, and hit or scratch themselves. Frequently children urinate *por muina,* or out of anger, during a temper tantrum. They also throw themselves on the offender and beat him.

The child usually gets what he wants, in order to quiet him, but if the father is at home he may receive a spanking. If the child has the tantrum because of an older brother or sister, he usually gets what he wants. As the baby of the family, the child has learned to get what he wants by crying; when he becomes next youngest to the baby he gets what he wants by temper tantrums. Children may have temper tantrums up to the time they go to school. If a child is *muy encaprichudo,* or very willful, demanding, or stubborn, his temper tantrums may not be tolerated, and he may be subject to beatings and punishments during this period.

The importance of the grandmother to the child who is displaced by a new sibling cannot be overemphasized. Sending the disturbed or unhappy child to live with the grandmother is a traditional, almost institutionalized, way of handling the problem. The grandmother represents an adequate mother-substitute and softens the abruptness of the child's separation from his mother. The stereotype of the grandmother who is constant, loving, patient, and solicitous toward her grandchildren, while not true of every grandmother, is true of many. The child who has a grandmother is considered fortunate. The child who is difficult to wean, who is *chipil,* or who has many temper tantrums, is sent to the grandmother to receive the attention and care he craves. First-born sons and favorite children, whom the parents are reluctant to punish, are most often the ones to go. Children may stay with the grandmother for a month or a year or, not infrequently, until they marry.

After the birth of a new sibling, the next youngest child no longer sleeps with the mother. Occasionally the youngest child sleeps with the mother for five or more years because there is no one to displace him. In one case, the youngest son, who was also his mother's favorite, slept with her until he was ten. In another family a girl of five who had slept with her father since she was weaned was so attached to him that she would sleep with no one else. Occasionally, too, we found a grown

2:Lewis E-5 (1943-1948)1951 NU37 Tepoztlan NU37

291
482
887

Fig. 63. Widows carrying firewood.

888
178

generations because of recent social and economic changes. Also, the facts that old people do not usually take an active part in community life, that a large number of the aged are poverty stricken, and that their speech, dress, and manners are now viewed as old-fashioned has somewhat diminished their respect status. Despite the nostalgia of the older folk for the "good old days," however, they are treated with relative respect, and the grandparent-grandchild relations are often of an affectionate nature.

[603]